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AFTER K'S VISIT

THE EDITORS

THE EUNUCH SPEAKS

MARTIN BRONFENBRENNER

SOCIOLOGY WITHOUT CLOTHES

ARTHUR K. DAVIS

Florence Kelley: Revolutionary Reformer

DOROTHY ROSE BLUMBERG

EDITORS . . . LEO HUBERMAN . . . PAUL M. SWEEZY

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

By the time this issue is in your hands, MR will have moved to its new quarters at 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14. (Please note, however, that our mailing address remains as before—66 Barrow Street, New York 14.) Those of you who have had occasion to visit us at our old address will know how cramped we were there and will understand our alacrity in accepting an offer from our friends at *The Nation* to sublet a large and attractive office. We have a separate entrance to a room twice the size of our old office—sunny, light, on the sixth floor far above the noise of the street. The building itself is a converted loft which is becoming headquarters for an increasing number of publishers; three or four are already located there and others are moving in. The change will be especially welcome to those two or three steady volunteers who give us an afternoon a week regularly and will now have more adequate space in which to perform their helpful tasks.

One of the most successful books in MR's publishing history was *The Empire of Oil* by Harvey O'Connor. We printed 10,000 copies of which half went to the Liberty Book Club. The rest were sold quickly and the book has

(*continued on inside back cover*)

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AFTER THE KHRUSHCHEV VISIT

Despite the enormous amount that has been said and written about the Khrushchev visit, certain significant aspects of the affair seem to have been little remarked on or inadequately analyzed. The following unsystematic notes are directed entirely to these neglected matters.

The Insecurity of Capitalism

A unique feature of the Khrushchev visit—unique at least as far as we know—was that nearly every time he said something on TV or radio, one or more supposed experts would be put on the air immediately afterwards, ostensibly to analyze but actually to discredit what he said. We have no way of knowing how effective this technique was with the American public, nor do we have any idea how many people shared our own view that most of the experts made fools of themselves. But whatever the answer to these riddles may be, the very adoption of this peculiar procedure by the molders of American public opinion is remarkably revealing.

The "American celebration" has been going on for well over a decade now. A major ideological facet of the cold war, its twin themes have been the glories of capitalism as practiced in the United States and the horrors of Communism anywhere and everywhere but particularly in the Soviet Union. The job of indoctrinating the American people has been thoroughly and unremittingly performed, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and fifty-two weeks a year. Even in this adman's paradise, no campaign of public persuasion has ever disposed over a fraction of the time and space devoted to putting across the message that "capitalism is good, Communism bad." The responsible leaders, official and unofficial, have reason to be satisfied with their handiwork. They should, one would suppose, feel supremely confident of the American public's invulnerability to Communist ideas and blandishments.

The treatment of Khrushchev reveals an entirely different attitude. In place of confidence in the invulnerability of the American public, our leaders displayed a nervous apprehension that everything Khrushchev said would be accepted at face value. Hence the need for all the experts with their prompt refutations and reassurances.

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The notion that one man in ten days could counteract fifteen years of full-time work by the entire apparatus of mass communication is, of course, absurd. The American public has long since learned not to take any politician at face value, and the fact of his being both a foreigner and a Communist was certainly not calculated to enhance his trustworthiness. Moreover, the experts may have worked for Mr. Khrushchev as much as against him: many people are likely to have reasoned, on the where-there's-smoke-there-must-be-fire principle, that all the efforts at refutation probably meant that Mr. K really had something. For all these reasons, the behavior of our leadership can hardly be considered a rational response to a real problem.

Its significance lies rather in the light it throws on the state of mind of the rulers of American capitalism. To put the main point in the bluntest terms, they simply do not believe that the American people are sold on capitalism. Despite the monumental "educational" labors of the last fifteen years, they have no confidence that the pupil is really educated. They suspect that the popular support which the system seems to enjoy is no more than skin-deep. Like a soap salesman, they are afraid that their customers may at any time be weaned away by the slogans of a rival huckster.

No doubt these fears and suspicions are greatly exaggerated, at least for the present. But their significance is not less on that account. What they show is not that the American people are about to desert capitalism but rather that the capitalists themselves are losing their faith in the ability of the system to survive the competition with its Communist rival. By a familiar process of psychological transference, they project this loss of faith onto the people over whom they rule.

The loss of self-confidence by a ruling class is a sure sign that a social system is already far along the road to historic oblivion. We can thank Mr. Khrushchev for unwittingly affording us a clinical view of this process in operation.

How Much Progress?

The joint communique issued after the Camp David talks, plus certain supplementary remarks by both Eisenhower and Khrushchev, have led to the widespread impression that the basis of a settlement of the Berlin problem had been laid along the following lines: Western forces would remain in Berlin, perhaps under a UN label and with suitable guarantees of freedom of access. In return, the West would interpose no objection to the Soviet Union's signing a separate peace

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treaty with East Germany. This procedure would constitute a tacit recognition of the existence and legitimacy of the East German regime and would presumably be followed in due course by a more formal arrangement, leading eventually to a *de jure* and *de facto* acceptance by the United States of the status quo in Central and Eastern Europe.

It seems most likely that this would be the procedure favored by the Soviet Union and that Eisenhower was persuaded of its desirability as a way out of the impasse of the recent past. If this really becomes Western policy on Germany, there can be no doubt that it would constitute a very significant step forward. It would in fact be the first real break with the Dulles policy of refusing to negotiate any settlements, stepping up the cold war, and waiting for the supposedly inevitable break-up of the Soviet bloc. In this sense and for this reason, one can say that the talks were both more constructive and more successful than one had any right to anticipate in advance.

It is, however, much too early to begin rejoicing. We have long believed that Eisenhower is personally a man of peace who, left to himself, would gravitate toward a sensible settlement with the Russians based on the actual state of affairs and the real relation of forces in the world today. But Eisenhower is also a weak man who never has been and never will be left to himself for long. Dulles led him around by the nose for years and quickly corrected his occasional wanderings from the Dulles line, as at the Geneva summit meeting in 1955. The question now is whether he will be strong enough to carry through the initiative undertaken with Khrushchev at Camp David.

To assume that Dulles's departure removes the only obstacle would be vastly to overrate that evil gentleman's personal importance and to underestimate the strength of the forces he represented. For let's face it: Dulles was strongly supported by a large part of the American ruling class and actively opposed by a negligible proportion. And though the proportions were not the same in all the countries of the Western Alliance, nevertheless there were none in which he lacked powerful backers. Dulles was able to conduct an irrational, stupid, and catastrophically unsuccessful foreign policy for seven long years only because the powers that be in the capitalist world were preponderantly with him.

The big question now is whether a real shift has taken place so that the cautiously realistic departure foreshadowed in the Eisenhower-Khrushchev communique can command the same kind of support that the Dulles policy used to command. The available indications are

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certainly not conclusive, but neither are they very encouraging. On the positive side there is the manifest build-up of a worldwide public opinion in favor of peace and the relaxation of tensions. But one must beware of overestimating this factor. The secret of rule in a capitalist country is precisely mastery of the art of governmental deception—*appearing* to bow to public opinion without yielding anything of substance. The British ruling class has carried this art to its highest form of perfection, but progress in this country has been hardly less impressive. All of our "democratic" institutions, and particularly the present two-party system, are designed to conceal the real locus of power and to make the people think they ordered whatever political meal their masters prepare for them. So long as this system continues to work smoothly, there is no realistic hope that *unorganized* public opinion will have its way against the preponderant will of the ruling class.

The problem therefore boils down to whether a shift has taken place within the ruling class. Unfortunately, we know of no evidence that such a shift has occurred. The ink was scarcely dry on the Camp David communique before all the old familiar voices were singing the old familiar tunes. Acheson, carrying on in place of Dulles and speaking (of all places!) in Bonn, denounced Eisenhower for even talking about Berlin. Most of the Democratic hopefuls, reflecting the profoundly cold-war character of their party, reacted negatively, even if less vocally than Acheson. Fulbright, chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a reputed moderate on foreign policy questions, enthusiastically welcomed a report prepared for his Committee which strongly recommended a substantial increase in both the nuclear and the non-nuclear forces of the NATO powers. According to the *New York Times* (October 15), the Senator said that the report was especially timely because it came at a time "when the Eisenhower-Khrushchev conversations have encouraged relaxation. It is important that the . . . conversations not be permitted to bathe us in a glow of happiness unwarranted by the facts and thus dangerous to our security." Only Stevenson, whose political future seems to be behind him, spoke up in support of the President's initiative.

In the administration itself, the process of pouring cold water on hopes for relaxation of tensions began almost at once. Messages were sent to Adenauer which, newsmen in Bonn reported, completely reassured that adamant opponent of East-West negotiations. Under Secretary of State Dillon seized the first opportunity to reaffirm United

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States willingness to fight a world war for dear old Chiang Kai-shek. General Norstad, as NATO commander in Paris, proceeded at once to conclude an agreement with Turkey to establish a huge rocket base on Turkish soil—despite the belief in Washington, reported in the *New York Times* of October 11th, that "the projected base in Turkey is expected to bring another round of Soviet complaints and warnings of the disaster that could accrue to any country from which nuclear-tipped missiles are launched." Outside the administration, Governor Rockefeller rushed to the platform of the first convenient gathering of businessmen, not to urge freer trade between the United States and the Soviet Union but on the contrary to advocate stricter curbs on all East-West trade.

But perhaps there are signs of a shift in powerful nonpolitical circles? If so, we have yet to observe them. Our esteemed contemporary, the *Nation,* is equipped with sharper eyesight. "It would be underestimating the pressures [toward relaxation of tensions]," the editors wrote in their issue of October 10th, "if one assumed that they come only from the common people." We read on eagerly: "They come equally from level-headed and public-spirited industrial capitalists like Cyrus Eaton and agricultural capitalists like Roswell Garst." Our trouble is that we don't know of any others like Cyrus Eaton and Roswell Garst. If their number has increased in recent weeks, the evidence has been successfully hidden from the public.

We hope that this analysis will not call forth charges of "pessimism." They would be entirely unfounded. The Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks produced better results than we had dared hope. Our purpose is simply to warn against the kind of easy "optimism" which sees peace around every corner, the way Herbert Hoover used to see prosperity around every corner. As for the future, it is quite possible that the American ruling class will some day take a more realistic view of the world and adjust its policies accordingly. Alternatively, perhaps the American people will eventually develop a political party which will enable them to win some of the substance as well as the appearance of power. In the meantime, the cherishing of exaggerated hopes can only bring disappointment and disillusionment.

Disarmament and Propaganda

Khrushchev's proposal to the United Nations of total disarmament in four years has evoked two principal reactions. The first is that it is "just propaganda" and can therefore be dismissed as of no

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importance. The second is that it may lay the basis for, or at any rate mark the beginning of, serious negotiations which in turn may produce concrete results in the way of halting and reversing the arms race.

We do not believe that either of these estimates is justified. Let us consider the second one first.

Regardless of whether Khrushchev is sincere or not—a point to which we will return presently—it is obvious that there is not going to be any progress toward disarmament in the near future unless the United States wants it, and that means the United States under the present management or an approximately similar management headed by a Democrat instead of a Republican.* But does the United States want it?

To believe that it does is to believe that the American ruling class—specifically including the three "elites" C. Wright Mills thinks he can distinguish, i.e., the business elite, the military elite, and the political elite—wants to liquidate what *Business Week* (October 10, 1959) calls "the world's biggest industry," representing enormous vested interests that ramify into every nook and cranny of the American economy. To quote from *Business Week's* remarkably frank article:

> No matter how it's described, the business of piling up weapons is bigger than any other industry. It runs to $14½ billion a year, if you count only major military hardware contracts. It climbs to $25 billion a year when you add research and development, operation and maintenance of such vast systems as the DEW line, and construction of airfields and missile launching bases. It hits around $41 billion a year when you include everything else on which the Defense Dept. spends money. By way of a yardstick: The international oil business, the world's largest single industry, pumps up around $10 billion worth of petroleum a year.

Not only is this industry big: It provides virtually guaranteed profits that make a generous allowance for a purely mythical risk factor. "So for all the nightmares that may afflict a weapon maker when he considers how he might lose his contracts overnight, there is

* To avoid misunderstanding: what follows does not apply to a possible ban on further testing of atomic weapons, which would obviously be to the advantage of both the United States and the Soviet Union and is therefore a real possibility. But a test ban is not disarmament, nor is there any reason to accept the oft-repeated statement that a ban would necessarily be followed by disarmament. It would be just as logical to argue that a test ban would be followed by a build-up of non-nuclear arms.

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some consolation," *Business Week* philosophizes. It is interesting to note that among the "nightmares" listed there is not even so much as a mention of disarmament. Practical businessmen, it seems, simply do not take talk of disarmament seriously.

But even this is not all: the whole United States economy is now geared to a federal budget which includes $40 billion or more a year of military spending. The liberal economists tell us if the same $40 billion were spent for welfare purposes, there need be no trouble. The arithmetic is good but the political analysis leaves something to be desired. Does anyone seriously imagine that the American ruling class has suddenly become converted to that kind of "galloping socialism"?

Shall we be told that public opinion will *force* the ruling class to accept disarmament? By what means, then? By voting for Democrats instead of Republicans, or vice versa? Messrs. Meany, Reuther, et al should be able to tell us something about the effectiveness of that method. They tried it last fall, and it worked fine—on election day. Afterwards, everything reverted to normal, and the new Democratic Congress proceeded to pass the worst labor law in recent American experience. Why should unorganized public opinion be able to accomplish more in the field of disarmament? Even in the best possible case —that the American people could see clearly that it is their own government that stands in the way of disarmament— there would be no reason to expect success. But the best case is unfortunately an unrealistic case. If a government doesn't *want* to disarm it is easy enough to throw the blame on the other fellow and, with the help of the mass communications industry, to convince its people that that's just where the blame belongs.

The truth is, and nothing can be gained by hiding or disguising it, that the American ruling class is thoroughly committed to an armaments economy, does not want to disarm, and will not disarm unless and until it is obliged to do so by superior political force.

We must suppose that Khrushchev, being a Marxist, is fully aware of this and is under no illusion that his four-year total disarmament plan has any serious chance of acceptance. Was it then, as its denigrators claim, "just propaganda"?

We would answer that it was propaganda all right but not "just propaganda." It was in fact the most brilliant, intelligent, and effective propaganda that a socialist could possibly conceive of. To proclaim from the podium of the UN General Assembly his country's willingness to liquidate its military establishment in four years and to invite the

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whole world to follow suit—that is what socialists expect of the leader of a socialist country. And that is what will appeal to the minds and hearts of the masses everywhere, for the simple reason that it is the *only* way to lift the threat of atomic annihilation and to release the full productive potential of the human race for the solution of the age-old problems of poverty, ignorance, and disease. To propose disarmament to the world is to speak a language which ordinary people everywhere understand, to make propaganda which will hasten the day when more public sentiment in favor of peace will turn into a purposeful movement to achieve a social order that will really mean peace.

But, you may ask, was Khrushchev sincere? There is no litmus paper test to settle the question. The only way to find out would be for the capitalist countries to counter his general proposal with a serious plan for achieving what Khrushchev said he wanted—genuine disarmament. Of that, as we argued above, there is no prospect.

For this reason, Khrushchev's sincerity will undoubtedly remain untested. But this fact by no means deprives his initiative of its historic significance. When Litvinov made essentially the same proposal in the League of Nations nearly thirty years ago, it was possible to point to the weakness of the Soviet Union and sneer that disarmament is always the program of the impotent. Let the Soviet Union become strong, the cynics said, and you will see that it will sing another song. But it hasn't happened that way. Now the mightiest all-around military power in the world, the Soviet Union still proposes disarmament—not reduction of this or that type of weapon, but the complete and radical extirpation of militarism: the disbandment of officers' corps, the liquidation of military schools, the cessation of arms production. And why? Because militarism and socialism are basically antithetical; because a genuinely planned economy needs no artificial stimulators; because under public enterprise there is no profit but only waste and misery from producing the means of death and destruction. Never mind about Khrushchev's personal sincerity. History in any case cares little for such matters. But don't miss the epoch-making significance of the fact that alone among the great military powers of modern times, the world's first socialist country has honorably and consistently stood for disarmament, which is also the true cause of all humanity.

Some will say that we give the Soviet Union too much credit, that it can safely make these radical proposals because it knows they will not be accepted. Before you allow yourself to be persuaded by this

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line of reasoning, however, ask yourself the following question: Why hasn't the United States seized the propaganda initiative by proposing, again and again, that the world totally disarm? Can it be that such proposals go too much against the capitalist grain? Or is it perhaps that the United States, unlike the Soviet Union, fears that they would be all too eagerly accepted?

(October 15, 1959)

Wish To Disarm Queried

Doubts Expressed as to Reception Accorded Khrushchev Proposal

To the Editor of the New York Times:

While the cries of "rubbish," "nonsense" and "old hat" still linger in the air after Premier Khrushchev's speech at the United Nations, I should like to use your columns to put a question to anyone who cares to answer.

The question, simply, is this: Does the United States really wish to disarm, even with the guarantees, inspection plans and observation teams which Russia has thus far refused to allow? Of course we wish to disarm, you will say, but I wonder.

What Senator or Representative from New England would announce himself in favor of the immediate cancellation of all military electronics contracts? How would the powerful aircraft industry greet a proposal to discontinue the production of all warplanes and missiles? How many Congressmen could watch with equanimity as two million soldiers, sailors and airmen were released to flood the job market?

How would the Pentagon react to the prospect of closing down West Point, Annapolis and the newly created Air Force Academy, pensioning off the officer corps, and sending home the Chiefs of Staff? Just how great would be the rejoicing as community after community, industry after industry, saw itself deprived of the contracts, installations, subsidies, which have meant economic life or death for the past twenty years? . . .

—*Robert P. Wolff,* Instructor in Philosophy, Harvard University
(*New York Times,* Sept. 25, 1959)

The professional military mind is by necessity an inferior, unimaginative mind; no man of high intellectual quality would willingly imprison his gifts in such a calling.

—H. G. Wells, *Outline of History*

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FLORENCE KELLEY: REVOLUTIONARY REFORMER

BY DOROTHY ROSE BLUMBERG

Florence Kelley, said Justice Frankfurter, was the "woman who probably had the largest single share in shaping the social history of the United States during the first thirty years of this century." And Lillian Wald has written: "It will be a sad loss to America if the story of that ardent crusader is not retold to coming generations, for her times knew none more effective." [1] *

Today, a hundred years since Florence Kelley's birth on September 12, 1859, in Philadelphia, the children and grandchildren of her contemporaries are only vaguely aware of this remarkable person. The reforms she fought for have long since become accepted and indispensable pillars of our social structure, while the struggles to achieve them are almost forgotten.

But the America of her youth cried out for such reforms. The rapid industrial growth that followed the Civil War brought with it sweatshop and slum, child factory labor with a high mutilation and death rate, the 12-hour day and 84-hour week for women and men alike. The young trade union movement had its hands full on two fronts—the struggle for legality and the campaign for the 8-hour day. Such binding up of social wounds as took place fell to charitable organizations and individual consciences.

These were not lacking, although too often the effort was spasmodic and piecemeal. The men and women involved were dedicated persons, but their vision seldom went beyond the alleviation of immediate need.

Dorothy Rose Blumberg is engaged in research on the role of women in the American reform and socialist movements. Presently an unaffiliated socialist, she was convicted under the conspiracy section of the Smith Act in Baltimore in 1953, and served two years and four months in the Federal Reformatory for Women, Alderson, West Virginia.

* Footnotes will be found at the end of the article. All quotations not otherwise identified are taken from Florence Kelley's autobiographical sketches which appeared in the *Survey* in 1926 and 1927 and on which I have relied heavily. They are: (1) "My Philadelphia," October 1, 1926; (2) "My Novitiate," April 1, 1927; and (3) "I Go To Work," June 1, 1927.

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Not so Florence Kelley. Her heart was indeed torn by the pitiable plight of so many: "It is boys and girls and not percentages that are maimed." [2] But at the same time she understood the basic social maladjustment that created the evil, and her keen mind was constantly searching for ways not only to deal with the immediate problem but to eliminate its causes.

She was born into a household of Quaker ideals and the traditions of abolition and women's rights. Her grandaunt, Sarah Pugh, was a life-long friend of Lucretia Mott, and with her attended the London World Anti-Slavery Conference in 1840. For Grandaunt Sarah it was a point of conscience never to use sugar or cotton because they were produced by slaves.

Florence's mother Caroline, also a Quaker, suffered the tragedy that befell so many mothers of her day. Five of her eight children died in infancy or early childhood—"not in the Great American Desert," as Florence wrote later, but "in one of the great and famous cities of the Nineteenth Century . . . sacrificed . . . to the prevailing ignorance of the hygiene of infancy."

William Darrah Kelley, her father, had been an early and frequent speaker for abolition and women's rights, and was a great friend of Susan B. Anthony. As a boy of eleven he had had to go to work in a printing shop, his hours "from light until dark." Now a successful lawyer, a judge, and eventually a Congressman, he still wanted his children "to know the facts in the lives of their less fortunate contemporaries." Thus young Florence was taken to see at first hand the horrifying conditions under which little boys worked in the glass factories and the steel mills. The experience seared itself into her consciousness and conscience.

For the sensitive, delicate child ("I could never attend regularly or complete a school year") such influences became her life determinants. Her bachelor's thesis (Cornell '82) was an examination of changes in the legal status of children, and "followed naturally upon Father's years of effort to enlist me permanently in behalf of less fortunate children." To continue her studies she applied for graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania, but the limitations on higher education for women being what they were, she was refused admission.

So it happened that the following year she went to the University of Zürich. There, "the contents of my mind . . . tinder awaiting a match," she encountered "the philosophy of Socialism, its assurance flooding the minds of youths and the wage earners with hope that,

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within the inevitable development of modern industry, was the coming solution."

"Trembling with excitement," she attended a meeting addressed by exiled leaders of the German Socialist Party. Here she was "in the World of the Future." And as she listened to a Swiss railroad worker earnestly ask, "As internationalists, should we give our assent to lowering the standards of living of fellow workers on the other side of the globe?" she could exclaim, "This might have been a Quaker meeting. Here was the Golden Rule! Here was Grandaunt Sarah!"

A crowded year later, in 1884, she translated Friedrich Engels' *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* from the German where it had lain obscurely for many years. Engels agreed to do a new preface for the American edition which she was arranging, though, as he wrote to Friedrich Sorge a bit later, "I can't see what this person now finds in the old thing." [3] What she found was "an amazing achievement . . . of painstaking, laborious, precise observation . . . a foundation work of descriptive social and industrial history."

By now she had married a Polish-Russian socialist fellow-student, Dr. Lazare Wischnewetsky, and their baby boy was almost a year old. In the early summer of 1886 they set out for America. They stopped in London on the way home, where she finally met Engels.

Settled in New York and eager to continue her activities, she joined the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) whose headquarters were then in Hoboken. Alas for her enthusiasm! The small, sectarian, German-speaking membership—"They learn no English on principle," wrote Engels[4]—looked with more than suspicion on this vigorous, outspoken American. Friction must have developed almost immediately. She was highly critical of the careless manner in which they had published *The Condition of the Working Class.* The SLP was indignant over some rather mild criticism by Engels in his preface to the translation.

More serious was the Aveling affair. During that winter Edward Aveling and his wife, Marx's daughter Eleanor, had made a successful American lecture tour under the auspices of the SLP. At the close of the tour the party Executive Committee accused them of padding their expense account! At first the Wischnewetskys took the word of the Committee. A scorching letter from Engels to Florence set the record straight [5] and she spoke her mind about the Executive at the next meetings of the New York section. By the middle of 1887 both she and her husband had been expelled from the Party.[6]

Despite this experience her convictions remained unshaken. An

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illuminating exposition of her philosophy is to be found in a paper presented May 14, 1887, to the New York Association of Collegiate Alumnae—now the American Association of University Women. The title, "The Need of Theoretical Preparation for Philanthropic Work," scarcely prepared one for its contents. Briefly, these include a full-blown Marxist analysis of the class struggle, as well as some acid comment on the futility of rescuing hundreds of broken lives while thousands more are created daily by "the steady march of industrial development." "Bourgeois philanthropy" is but an attempt to give back to its victims a small fraction of what the capitalist system "systematically robs them of." Unless "we college graduates" understand this, our philanthropy will only be a "patch . . . on the rotten fabric of a perishing society." But now we can learn some basic truths from the works of European political scientists finally being translated into English. Among these are the "fundamental work *par excellence,* 'Capital,' by Karl Marx," which "is to political economy what the works of Darwin are to the natural sciences."

The paper concludes:

> To cast our lot with the workers, to seek to understand the laws of social and industrial development . . . to spread this enlightenment among the men and women destined to contribute to the change to a higher social order, to hasten the day when all good things of society shall be the goods of all the children of men, and our petty philanthropy of today superfluous—this is . . . the true philanthropy.

This paragraph, it seems to me, represents most clearly the unique fusion of Quaker "concern" and Marxist social understanding which is Florence Kelley. Here was distilled all the complex of emotional and political experience of her first thirty years. In her own way, and breaking her own ground, she was to live by it the rest of her life.

Chicago became her first field of action. She had left New York in 1891 following the unhappy end of her marriage.[7] Now there were three children to support, and to earn her living she turned naturally to her area of greatest interest. While her children found a welcome in the home of the Henry Demarest Lloyds, she joined Jane Addams at Hull House, where she was to spend the next eight busy years.

The first year produced the notable *Maps and Papers.* These were a house-by-house, family-by-family survey of a full square mile of Chicago's poorest section, in which Hull House was centered. So impressive was this "descriptive social and industrial" analysis that a

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State commission was appointed to look into the conditions it revealed. The result was a "quite advanced" 8-hour bill for "women, girls and children" in manufacturing, child labor safeguards, and a factory inspection department. The bill was signed in 1893 by Governor Altgeld, who then appointed Florence Kelley Chief Inspector of Factories. The innovation was bitterly resented by some manufacturers, and she entered her first factory the target of a hidden sniper's bullets, which fortunately found no mark.[8]

Her tenure as inspector lasted the four years of Governor Altgeld's incumbency. During the first year she also studied law at night at Northwestern University—"my object being to support in the local courts the 8-hours law for women, the child labor law and the sweatshop law which it was my sworn duty to enforce"[9]—and was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1894.

That was the year of the American Railway Union strike. Its magnitude and significance excited her, and when Eugene V. Debs, then president of the union, was arrested and jailed, she and Henry D. Lloyd took the lead in a campaign to raise the bail.[10]

But her prime concern was for the women who worked far too long for much too little, and the children who never should have been working at all. Tirelessly she hammered away at these abuses in her four annual inspector's reports. She had only two years in which to try to enforce the 8-hour law; the Illinois Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional in 1895.

By now her activities had attracted attention beyond the state. In 1899 she was called back to New York as general secretary of the newly organized National Consumers League. Working out of the Henry Street Settlement, in her first five years of traveling and lecturing she set up or helped set up 64 Leagues in 20 states.

The League's purpose—to educate the consumer to press for improved wages, hours, and working conditions in department stores and factories—gave the general secretary the broad and roving mandate that so admirably suited her. For the next quarter century she would exercise it to do battle against injustice wherever she found it.

Thus in 1902 she helped organize a state Child Labor Committee, and two years later a National Committee. A special project of the latter was a federal Children's Bureau. When the necessary legislation was passed in 1912, she proposed, remembering her mother, that the Bureau's first study be of infant mortality. The Sheppard-Towner bill six years later was the result. Delay in its passage (it was attacked as

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a bill to "nationalize the children") led to one of her most dramatic appeals—"Why does Congress wish mothers and babies to die?"[11]

She served many years as vice president of the National Woman Suffrage Association. She was convinced that women could not expect improvement in their industrial conditions "until they are ably represented by experienced women . . . in Congress and in the legislature, and until women judges in the higher courts cease to be exceptional phenomena." [12]

A pacifist all her life, she was one of 25 American delegates to the International Congress of Women for Permanent Peace at Zürich after the first World War. "It was unbelievably wonderful," she wrote, "fourteen nations represented by 126 delegates . . . English . . . Germans . . . Irish . . . all alike engrossed in the common effort . . . Never have I seen such a generous spirit in any group of human beings." [13]

She was a member of the NAACP almost from its founding in 1909. In 1921 she attended a Pan-African Congress in London, where, as a board member of the Association, she spoke briefly. Presiding at that session was a Mr. Archer—"a former Mayor of Battersea," she wrote, "a native of London of African descent. . . . When, I wonder, shall we have a colored candidate for President of one of the Boroughs of Greater New York?" [14]

One of her most poignant experiences was with the women watch-dial painters trapped by radium poisoning. The campaign she initiated in their behalf in 1924 focused national attention on this industrial hazard, and led to new advances in industrial medicine and workmen's compensation legislation.

Near the end of her life, while resting in Florida, she was invited by Dr. Royal France, then Professor of Economics at Rollins College, to address several of his classes on child labor and other protective legislation. She was delighted, and accepted with the remark, "Now I'm doing something useful while I'm vacationing!" [15]

Her long and selfless record, however, was no barrier against calumny. On July 3, 1926, Senator Bayard of Delaware read into the Congressional Record thirty-five pages of invective and slander presented as a petition against extension of the Maternity Act. Put together by a group calling themselves the Woman Patriot Publishing Company, it was largely given over to "exposing" Mrs. Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky as "Engels' chosen lieutenant for introducing communism into the 'flesh and blood of Americans.' " The Maternity Act, the Child Labor Amendment, and the Children's Bureau were branded

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"the Engels-Kelley program . . . derived straight from the fundamental communist manifesto of 1848." [16] A stinging rebuke of these forerunners of McCarthy was administered by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.[17] Characteristically, Florence Kelley's sole concern was lest damage be done to the causes involved.

Throughout her life, her greatest talent lay in moving people into action. "She had a remarkable flair," said Josephine Goldmark in her affectionate biography *Impatient Crusader,* "for finding and enlisting people of unusual ability and character." [18] Her idea of a successful meeting was to send away those attending with something concrete to do, and she was never at a loss for the "something." Her flutelike voice, deep-rooted convictions, monumental array of facts, unexpected blend of wit, scorn, tact, and temper, impressed the skeptical and encouraged the faint of heart.

And she was always learning. At first, in combating the sweatshops, she relied on moral suasion alone. Slow, uneven, and extremely limited successes soon led her to recognize the need for legislation. Legislation in turn presented two new problems: enforcement, and possible court nullification. These, she found, demanded a return to moral suasion on a higher level—an aroused public opinion that would demand effective enforcement by corruption-free officials, and, equally, judicial interpretation of the Constitution unswayed by the reactionary pressures of organized business interests.

It has been said that "her point of departure for any reform has not been so much theoretical assumptions as specific evils of which she herself has been the indignant witness." [19] This is certainly true. She was indeed a warrior in the field, not simply an arm-chair theorist. But beyond this is the clear evidence, beginning with her paper on philanthropy, that she took into battle with her a basic commitment to socialist theory.

Deeply engaged as she was on many fronts, she still found time, in 1911, to join in setting up the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. The following year, much moved by a speech on child labor by Debs during the election campaign, she enrolled in the Socialist Party, and retained membership for several years. She held a number of offices in the ISS, including that of president. When in 1921 the name was changed to League for Industrial Democracy, she argued vehemently against eliminating the term "socialist." She finally accepted the compromise of linking to "democracy" the adjective "industrial," as at least representing an emphasis on the labor movement.[20]

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It is her commitment to socialism, in fact, that distinguishes Florence Kelley from the devoted band of social-minded women—and men—who worked, and with whom she worked, so heroically. It enabled her to see that a reform properly fought for could be both a good in itself and a means to a greater end.

That her large energies were for the most part channeled outside of the organized socialist movement is certainly as much a commentary on the inadequacies of the movement that once expelled her as on her understanding of it.

Perhaps the key to the choice she made may be found in a brief autobiographical passage. Writing in the *Survey* in 1927, from the pinnacle of almost seventy years, she said: "My eager plunge into the enthusiasm of the new movement that was beginning to kindle throughout all Europe did not blind me to certain fundamental differences. Mine was, after all, an American background. Those youthful years of talk with Father had whetted whatever discernment Nature had given me, and these differences were to determine my later thinking."

The questions opened up by this observation go far beyond the scope of this short article. That they were posed without being answered does not at all subtract from the sum of her impressive achievements. The questions are still with us, and they will have to be answered if we in America are some day to attain that fundamental social change which she so ardently desired.

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1. Justice Frankfurter is quoted from his preface to Josephine Goldmark's comprehensive biography, *Impatient Crusader*, (University of Illinois Press, 1953), which furnished a large part of the biographical material. The quotation from Lillian Wald is found on page 42 of her *Windows on Henry Street* (Boston, 1934).

2. "The Manufacturers' Program Won't Do," by Florence Kelley. *Survey*, June 15, 1928, p. 345.

3. *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York, 1953, p. 148. Engels to Sorge, Jan. 29, 1886.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 163. Engels to Sorge, Nov. 29, 1886.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-174. Engels to Mrs. [Florence Kelley] Wischnewetsky, Feb. 9, 1887.

6. *Ibid.*, footnote, p. 189.

7. Dr. Wischnewetsky was never able to establish a successful medical practice in New York. "Disappointment, friction, and estrangement followed. Mounting debts, which had to be met by borrowing, played a major part in the break-up of the marriage." Mrs. Kelley's move to Illinois to obtain a divorce on grounds of non-support was necessitated by the New York divorce laws. She received custody of her children and resumed her maiden name. See J. Goldmark, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

8. Conversation with Mrs. Kelley's grandson, Augustus Kelley, Sept., 1957.

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9. "Thirty Years of the Consumers League," by Florence Kelley, *Survey,* Nov. 15, 1929, p. 210.
10. Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross,* p. 153.
11. "Mothers and Children Last," by Florence Kelley. *Pictorial Review,* Feb., 1921, p. 17.
12. "But What of Tomorrow?", by Florence Kelley. Book review of *Women and the Labor Movement,* by Alice Henry. *Survey,* Dec. 15, 1923, p. 352.
13. Letter to Mary Rozet Smith, May 22, 1919, from SS Rotterdam. Swarthmore College Peace Collection.
14. "The Pan-African Congress." Handwritten notes, National Consumer League files, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
15. Conversation with Dr. Royal W. France, Oct. 10, 1958.
16. *Congressional Record,* July 3, 1926, p. 12919.
17. "An Open Letter to the DAR," Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. *Woman Citizen,* July, 1927.
18. *Op. cit.,* p. 59.
19. "Twenty-five Years of It," by Josephine Goldmark, *New Republic,* Nov. 12, 1924, pp. 271-272.
20. Conversation with Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Feb. 6, 1959.

We cannot enact laws which will end the class system, any more than we can prohibit poverty: but we can destroy its institutional framework, in the same way that we can introduce legislative correctives to the natural laws of capitalism, and so reduce the incidence of poverty.

—*Paul Johnson,* Conviction

We have not mended our society since its mutilation by nineteenth-century industrialism. There is less poverty but no more (in some ways less) true community life. Work has become less unpleasant without becoming more significant. The gulf remains between the skilled and creative few and the unskilled and uncreative many. What was formerly called the proletariat has lost what culture it once had, and gained no true substitute. A stream of half-baked amusements hinders thought and the enjoyment of art and even of conversation. Equality of opportunity produces, not a society of equals, but a society in which the class division is made more sinister by the removal of intelligent persons into the bureaucracy and the destruction of their roots and characteristics as members of the mass. In short, a proletariat in the fundamental sense intended by Marx still exists: a deracinate, disinherited, and excluded mass of people. Only this mass is now quiescent, its manner of life largely suburban and its outlook "petty bourgeois," and it increasingly lacks any concept of itself as deprived.

—*Iris Murdoch,* Conviction

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MARXISM AND SOCIAL "LAWS"

BY MAURICE DOBB

This piece by Maurice Dobb, the well known British economist, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, brings to a close for the time being the discussion on the nature of Marxism initiated by Paul A. Baran's articles in the October and November, 1958, issues of MR. The discussion may be reopened later when pressure on our limited available space is less intense than existing commitments make unavoidable for the next few months.—The Editors

In Professor Baran's article on "The Nature of Marxism" in MR (November 1958) there is much with which one cannot fail to agree, including his emphasis on the need to eschew a dogmatic interpretation of Marxism as a set of *a priori* postulates from which historical forecasts can be derived. Few would wish to dispute that Marx's work was "essentially a vast *critical* effort, a many-sided confrontation of reality with reason." Yet one reader, at least, was left wondering whether his interpretation of Marxism as essentially a *method,* and his emphasis on the importance of an empirical approach to social investigation has not carried him too far and caused him to surrender the field to the positivists. In venturing to make such a criticism I feel on none-too-sure ground, since on several crucial questions I remain uncertain as to what Baran's position really is. On these points it seemed to me that his article left us without any clear answer; and as to the precise sense in which Marxism is a method, whether it is *no more than* a method, and whether method is here contrasted with a system of theoretical generalization, one could not unfairly say that Baran (not alone among writers on the subject) is quite vague. Yet I feel that the *implication* of his article, whether intended or not, is to deny that Marxism is directly concerned with the formulation of social or economic laws and with making forecasts (however tentative and provisional). But this is, surely, to emasculate Marxism and to leave it as little more than an academic box of tools?

Thus Baran seems to reach the conclusion both that "none of Marx's conclusions have been refuted by subsequent events" (presumably because Marxism makes no forecasts?) *and* that some of the things Marx foresaw or "anticipated" have not come about. (Is he,

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one wonders, deliberately contrasting here Marxism as a general system with particular statements made by Marx in a special context?) We are told that "Marxism is not and never was intended to be a 'positive science,' an assortment of statements about past and present facts, or a set of predictions about the shape or timing of future events. It was always an intellectual attitude, a way of thought, a philosophical position. . . ." Yet "it was Marx's unprecedented and unsurpassed accomplishment to discover the law of historical development." Again, the notion that "Marx's chief concern was the advancement of *economics,* the creation of a new *economic theory* which would be superior to its antecedents by providing better explanations or more accurate forecasts" is apparently dismissed as being "in violent contradiction perhaps not always with the letter but always with the spirit of his entire work." At this point a reader of *Das Kapital* is inclined to rub his eyes!

Is this really, as it looks, an attempt to come to terms with those who assert that large-scale social predictions are impossible, and that all that is scientifically possible in the social sciences is something called "piecemeal engineering" (which I take to mean tinkering with the old ship and not rebuilding it on more rational lines)?

In the first place, I do not believe that this view is a tenable one. Those who hold it usually qualify it by admitting that some kinds of large-scale generalization about society *are* possible, whether these are called "quasi-laws" or provisional hypotheses. At any rate it is clear that in practice such generalizations are constantly relied upon, in practical judgment and activity. (Even a negative attitude, denying the possibility of any generalization, is itself a statement about the nature of society and of social change, and affects our attitudes: e.g., either sanctioning any and every utopia or else giving a bias in favor of the *status quo*). In the second place, it is, surely, quite false to deny that Marxism includes a body of such generalization about the nature of class society, and in particular of capitalism as a form of class society, and that on the basis of these generalizations it makes certain *forecasts* about the end of class society and the coming of socialism. Such forecasts are testable (and refutable) in the light of actual experience like those of more exact sciences. Accordingly they need to be discussed in this light: as to how far any lack of correspondence with experience is only incidental, affecting little the main analysis from which the forecast was derived, or is of a more crucial character, invalidating, wholly or partially, the system of generalization behind it (e.g. the sort of question concerning the "tendency of the rate of profit

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to fall" on which I touched in a recent issue of *Science & Society*).

It may be that what Baran has in mind is the status of those basic general principles of dialectical and historical materialism, as a mode of interpreting society and its history, in contrast with the *particular* theories and explanations constructed with their aid. Now the former I would agree are primarily *methodological* principles. Whether and in what sense they can be called *laws* of development—this is something I would prefer to leave to those better versed in philosophy and logic. It is doubtful whether what Mill called "laws of succession" of social systems can be properly so called. Whatever their character may be, one certainly cannot deduce *a priori* the historical necessity for any particular social system to succeed another (i.e. one cannot do so *ex ante; ex post* one can only record that it has occurred at a particular stage of history). However, such statements as "all history is a history of class struggles" or "all major historical changes are to be explained by prior changes in the mode of production" are clearly statements about the nature of society and of social change, and cannot be treated as purely instrumental in character. As such they are certainly *testable*. But they are not testable (it would seem) in quite the same way as more precise and particular statements, such as "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer" or "the rate of profit falls as capital accumulation proceeds"; and for this reason it may be that they are properly to be regarded as "canons of interpretation" (to use a phrase of Croce) the test of which is the indirect one of whether they yield interpretations that accord with the facts better than do rival interpretations.

But the very fact that such "canons of interpretation" are vague and imprecise by reason of their generality and are verifiable only in terms of the particular interpretations that they yield is (I should have thought) a reason why the two cannot be separated, and why one cannot speak of Marxism as consisting of the former and as excluding the latter.

One thing that is both true and important is that no statement of social law or tendency can be "absolute," in the sense of holding unconditionally and for all time. Any such statement is relative to particular conditions which are always subject to change, if in different degrees and on different time-scales. This is, surely, one of the basic tenets of Marxism, and a ground for Marx's criticism of such systems as that of Comte as being "metaphysical." (It is to be noted that this is not the same thing as denying the possibility of absolute truth—only denying that one can do more than approach it asymptotically as

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historical experience unfolds). Precisely because all general statements about society must have this element of relativity—a reference to a particular set of transient conditions—there may seem to be little point in trying to distinguish between such statements according as they are statements of a "law" or merely of a "tendency"; any difference being one of degree rather than of kind. Admittedly it is not easy to see where a logical line can be drawn between them (*vide* the discussion there has been about the so-called "law of diminishing returns," on the one hand, and the "tendency of the rate of profit to fall," on the other). One can, however, say, I think, that if the statement of a tendency is too contingent, so that a set of actual conditions where it is realized can seldom if ever be found, it would have a scanty claim to be dignified with the name of a "law." If any conditional sentence were to have a right to this status, how could one ever say that a "law" had been disproved?

There is a special (quasi-Hegelian) sense in which Marx used the term "general law" which has given rise to a good deal of misunderstanding. This was in the sense (if I understand it rightly) of certain consequences that are held to follow from the *most general* characteristics of a certain system, when these characteristics are abstracted from the numerous special circumstances and features in which that system finds concrete manifestation or expression at a given time and place. It may be noted that the much-discussed "absolute general law of capital accumulation" (where the reference to "absolute impoverishment" of the proletariat comes in) is an example of this. Thus in any given situation the tendencies embodied in the general law would be modified and refracted by the presence of these special circumstances of time and place. An analogy, I suppose, would be the presence of "frictions" in the realm of physics. Could these "frictions," or these counter-tendencies to which they give rise, be so powerful as to inhibit altogether the operation of the "general law"? Clearly they may do so at particular times and places—this is allowed for. But if they do so *most* of the time and in most places, it is scarcely possible to speak any longer of a "general law" (only of a tendency operating amid a number of other tendencies); since the characteristics on which such a "general law" was based can no longer be the dominant characteristics, or in any important sense the common denominator of the variety of situations to be met with in actuality.

I have said that I do not pretend to know the correct answers to questions such as these, or even the proper way of posing them. They

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seem to deserve more discussion than, so far as I am aware, they have hitherto had in this context; a discussion to which all those who believe in "scientific socialism" as the key to the world's future should give every encouragement. But it would be a pity if the discussion were to get off on the wrong foot; and I scarcely think that it will be aided if we start denying that Marxism ever claimed to enunciate scientific laws.

We must regain confidence in man's ability to control the social and technical machinery he has himself created. This I put as the central Socialist objective. And the second is closely related to it. It is the belief that it is cooperation rather than conflict that gives dignity and purpose to our lives. The acquisitive society is based upon an ethic which runs directly counter to these two principles, and it is its denial of them that, fundamentally, makes me a Socialist, that makes me ask what life could be like if we treated our own capacities and the resources of nature reasonably, with the intention and the expectation of being happy.

—*Norman MacKenzie,* Conviction

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THE EUNUCH SPEAKS

BY MARTIN BRONFENBRENNER

I

When the eunuch speaks, he will deny that he is a eunuch. And so it will be here.

The eunuch in question is the typical American practitioner of one or more of the social studies or social sciences in their bourgeois versions. He is supposed to have traded the left-wing convictions of his youth for his little career as a little professor or a little civil servant or a little something else. This process has made a eunuch of him. He may have turned eunuch out of fear of dismissal if he maintains his convictions. Or he may have turned eunuch out of hunger for the loaves and fishes—the promotions and travel and consulting fees—which come his way if he abandons his convictions.

The sub-class of alleged eunuchs to which I belong—graduate-school social science teachers—has still another charge to face. We supposedly keep America safe for eunuchs by sniffing out sincere leftists and making eunuchs out of them. If they will not turn eunuch, we then deny them financial aid, fail them in examinations, and black-ball them from desirable jobs.

This is a crude and overdrawn picture of our little segment of America as seen by its critics. Yet is is the way our critics see us. It is part of a bigger picture of America as a dictatorship of its bourgeoisie or its power elite in the same sense that China or Russia is a dictatorship of the proletariat or the Communist Party. I have been accosted personally with this line from three sources. The first is the factory worker or trade union official with socialist convictions. The second is the foreign intellectual unimpressed with the American "way of life." The third, which concerns me most directly, is the leftist undergraduate whose interests lie in social studies but whose career will be elsewhere.

It is these students, by and large, who lose most from scorning their teachers as eunuchs. Some of them quit school in disgust, and never qualify for jobs which befit their capacities. Labor intellectuals

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in workshops and factories and union offices are often recruited from their numbers; they are usually frustrated and unhappy people. Other students give up the social studies for less controversial fields. Here some make satisfactory adjustments, but others spend lifetimes as embryo economists posing as architects, dermatologists, or professors of Greek. Some get into journalism or free-lance writing; a few can succeed here without selling their souls. Perhaps the saddest group drift into white-collar jobs in business itself. "Out of the frying pan, into the fire"—my private illustration is the undergraduate leftist who scorns "bourgeois" graduate training and ends up writing copy in an advertising agency!

II

Now of course there are a certain number of eunuchs among bourgeois social scientists in America. There are also a certain number of careerists among social scientists in any socialist country you care to mention. Both eunuchs and careerists are in decided minorities. Why should we trade our convictions for security or for promotion? In fact, how could we if we wanted to? When some reactionary dean or trustee is looking for a safe segregationist in sociology, when the National Association of Manufacturers is looking for an economic mouthpiece to denounce the welfare state, they do not generally rummage in Socialist or Communist circles for comrades who may be wavering. Rather they look for the best-known and most capable man they can find among straightforward true-blue down-the-line supporters of positions close to their own. (The Whitaker Chamberses and Louis Budenzes who change sides with a bang and actively persecute their former colleagues are extreme and special cases. They can be called many things, but hardly eunuchs.)

If we are not eunuchs, who are we and how did we get this way? The superficial answers seem to me correct. Most of us, like labor leaders and middle management, are from working-class and lower middle-class backgrounds. If there is any "objective class content" in what we have to say, it is apt to be that of the unorganized upper-middle or lower-upper class "consumer" or "voter" which we aspire to become. We became convinced in our student days of the truth, the relevance, and the esthetic appeal of one or more branches of bourgeois social science. Whether it was a complacent, a reformist, or a utopian variant that attracted us is not presently in point. We decided to spend, or drifted into spending, our lives working at bourgeois social science—expounding it, applying it, and if we were lucky

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contributing to it. Nothing heroic here, certainly—but must one be a hero to be a non-eunuch?

As for leftism and socialism, most of us never knew any more about it than aspiring Methodist ministers know about Islam and Buddhism. We entered our studies through the bourgeois gate, as naturally as our Soviet equivalents enter through the Marxian one. Marx and Lenin were for us just chapters in courses labeled "History of Doctrine." They were a little more interesting than Mercantilists or Technocrats—but also a little more dangerous to meddle with further. At any rate, most of us did not meddle further.

For the minority who, like this writer, thought of themselves as socialists at some stage of our studies, our socialism was rarely sophisticated enough to stand on its merit against the superior knowledge and skill of our teachers. (The labor theory of value, for example, makes poor price and monetary theory in its elementary expositions.) More important, we were repelled by the excesses of Stalinism—trials and purges and liquidations against which, after all, McCarthy and his ism are pretty small potatoes. We could recognize neither their necessity in Russia nor any assurances against their repetition in a socialist America.

The eclectic among us tried to combine elements of Marxism with elements of bourgeois social science into some kind of intellectual cocktail, but this approach had special problems. There were, of course, problems of consistency; self-contradiction has always been the curse of the eclectic. There were also problems of tolerance and understanding. Bourgeois social scientists are often, in fact usually, willing to accept the eclectic as "basically one of us, though he talks like a Marxist on this or that." But socialist circles have traditionally not accepted the eclectic as "basically one of us, though he talks like a bourgeois on this or that." This kind of socialist sectarianism was more prevalent among theorists and intellectuals than in socialist circles generally, but it was precisely these circles which helped banish the eclectic to the enemy camp. All this may be changing: witness among economists the examples of Paul Sweezy in the United States, Maurice Dobb in Great Britain, and Oscar Lange in Poland. In the past, however, sectarianism has reigned, and it seems to reign today in both leading socialist states, China and the Soviet Union.

In summary, then: The number of us who *were* either scared or bribed by bourgeois pressure into our present ideologies is negligible. The number who *had to be* either scared or bribed is even smaller.

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Insofar as we are talking nonsense, we have only ourselves and the general social milieu to blame. We cannot blame terror or bribery.

III

Having attained middle age and academic tenure, although not discretion or distinction, I feel entitled to offer unasked advice to students less than half my age. So let me stroke my long white beard and address myself, in hopeful yet cowardly fashion, to one Mr. X. Mr. X is an earnest and capable undergraduate with social science interests and socialist sympathies. He is considering graduate study in an American university.

My first and fundamental morsel of fatherly advice would be to go ahead. The colleges and universities, the major source of interesting employment, are growing all the time. They are also trying hard to differentiate themselves in their struggle for status. There is often more status to being different than to being the imitation Harvard or MIT of one's state or region. One way to be different is to be liberal and left of liberal. There is no institution in America today to correspond to the Wisconsin or Columbia of the last generation. This is a gap which cries to be filled; Mr. X can help fill it.

But Mr. X must realize, on the other hand, that being left means having one strike against him—like being female, or Jewish, or crippled. (It is usually less serious than being Negro, alcoholic, Fundamentalist, or most types of sexual deviate.) He must not only be better than his competition but substantially better, to get whatever position he happens to want. Nor should he count on deceiving his teachers about his views. They are not so stupid as their lectures sound. The chances are that they will guess his secret. If they do, he would have done better to have told them in the first place. (Men have been blacklisted for dishonesty on this point.)

Assuming that Mr. X wants to teach, he should aim for an institution both good and large. The Podunks and Siwashes which take his second-rate conservative fellows are closed to him. A good institution has prestige enough to stand against McCarthy on his behalf in circumstances where a poor one must buckle before the local American Legion post. In a large institution, a chairman or dean can use the number of conventionally-minded colleagues to protect his liberals or radicals. "Oh yes, we have a radical or two, but consider our half-dozen Republicans!" It looks bad, however, to have a socialist as half of a two-man department of political science.

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If he must get into an institution both good and large, and get in with a handicap, it follows that Mr. X must be good. Good not only in socialist analysis, but good at most of the conventional varieties of analysis in his field. He must never let himself be called an escapee. He must not be accused of "doing" Marxism because he is too dumb or biased or emotional for anything else. He may think much contemporary mathematical and statistical social science is dodging the real issues or accumulating "Knowledge for What?" He may say so, and many will agree with him. But learn it he must, and better than the parrots in his class. It's a matter of self-protection—and he may change his mind about its usefulness.

When it comes to publication, Mr. X must have something respectable to show for himself, something with no overtones of heresy. Appear in print in *Science and Society?* All right, if he has already had pieces accepted by leading organs in his specialty. But he must never leave himself open to charges of writing for the left press because his things are not good enough for the scholarly journals.

In his teaching, Mr. X had better admit his views—they will leak out anyway. He must nevertheless avoid indoctrination; if he cannot present "the other side" fairly and fully in class, he must take care to refer students to places where it is presented fairly and fully. He should avoid being "the lecturer" in elementary courses, where students foregather by the hundreds. They make a man conspicuous and cry out for "incidents." In class and in grading, he must lean over backward to avoid bias in favor of radicals and against conservatives. If he does no better on matters of bias and indoctrination than the average of his conservative colleagues, he will get into serious trouble. His typical D or F student will be a Republican, passing through Fraternity Row en route to a vice-presidency. It is easy to convince fond parents that a left-wing teacher has down-graded Johnny for nothing more than resistance to "brain-washing."

In extra-curricular student relations, Mr. X must also remain above suspicion of indoctrination. He may actively advise the campus Socialist Club, or for that matter the Young Republicans, because the first is obviously leftist and the second obviously not. He should avoid advising the International Relations Club, which is in an ambiguous position—especially if there should be left-wing and right-wing elements struggling for control. He should likewise never advise individual students, even indirectly, to join organizations likely to get on subversive lists, to dodge military service, or otherwise to jeopardize

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conventional careers. The most resented left-wing teachers of the thirties were the ones who recruited students to fight and sometimes die in Spain. They are examples to avoid.

Nor should Mr. X join automatically any faculty faction against his chairman, dean, president, trustees, or the local legislature, as progressive social scientists are wont to do. Some chairmen, deans, and other administrators have been known to show better judgment than their adversaries on the teaching faculty, but this is not the point. The point is that should Mr. X attempt to change jobs, he will have as a leftist a hard enough time moving without the added onus of being a trouble-maker for administrators.

Off campus completely, Mr. X should himself be careful in his choice of organizations to be joined and petitions to be signed. Many an administration will for some reason support a man's right to think, say, and write what he pleases—and then boggle at affiliation with anything anybody has called subversive. But if he does join any questionable organization, he should do it under his own name and not under an alias. The same applies for attending meetings. There is a hint of foiled conspiracy about being caught using an alias; not only administrators but academic freedom committees take dim views of anything that looks like "conspiracy."

Leftist social scientists are often asked for help by outside organizations, such as trade unions and inter-racial groups. "The unity of theory and practice" is all in favor of Mr. X doing so frequently, but university etiquette imposes certain limits. He should not claim to speak for his university. He should be more careful than most conservatives about keeping up his regular work despite outside activities. He should also be careful about recruiting students or fellow-teachers to help him. As a general rule of thumb, he should not do for his side more than a proper conservative consultant would do for the other side. Speech-writing, for example, is usually within the rules. So are the preparation and presentation of testimony at a hearing or a trial. Marching in picket lines and demonstrations is more questionable, especially if there is danger of violence.

Should he stay to the end of this old-maidenly advice, Mr. X will have every right to doubt that the game is worth the candle. Even with these unfair and one-sided restrictions thrown in, he has a good probability but no certainty that he will not be persecuted. I cannot offer any general answer to doubts of this kind. The answer depends on the other alternatives any particular Mr. X has available. I can

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suggest only that a professional social science career in America is worth serious consideration by many leftists who now reject it out of hand as a eunuch's life.

SOCIOLOGY WITHOUT CLOTHES

BY ARTHUR K. DAVIS

The sterility of much American academic social science, especially sociology, has been evident for some time to a few observers and practitioners. Yet the numbers, publications, salaries, and prestige of sociologists have been increasing. Because of this swelling chorus of success, it has been easy to ignore the critics.

But the prosperity of sociology is like the prosperity of the United States—lush on the surface, unsubstantial underneath. And now comes a famous sociologist, C. Wright Mills—author of *White Collar, The Power Elite, The Causes of World War III,* and other major works, and a professor at Columbia University—to proclaim in rolling periods that the emperor has no clothes. It will be hard for sociologists to ignore Mills' new book and even harder to face up to it.*

This book exposes the failure of American sociology to identify and clarify the basic historical processes and social problems of our time. We shall discuss this argument first. On a broader canvas, the book may be interpreted as a symptom of a much greater failure—the apparent incapacity of American society to assess and adapt to changing world conditions. For social scientists and intellectuals are part of their society. May not their common disabilities be similarly linked? This question we shall take up later.

Professor Davis, a frequent contributor to MR, is an American sociologist now at a Canadian university.

* *The Sociological Imagination,* Oxford University Press, $6.00.

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Spilling the Beans about American Sociology

Many look with awe at the Scientist with a capital S, whose unintelligible language and esoteric techniques serve to confirm his superior knowledge and achievements. These trusting souls will be distinctly shocked to learn from Mills that much of the work now afoot in American social science is just what it appears to be and nothing more—unintelligible and esoteric. When an insider of Mills' stature spills the beans, the results are likely to be sensational. Probably Mills will never make the grade as president of his national professional association. Neither did Thorstein Veblen.

What is the "sociological imagination"? To Mills, it means the ability to relate parts to wholes, to see individual roles and problems in terms of institutional movements and contradictions. It means viewing "the present as history." It characterizes the work of Comte, Spencer, Marx, Veblen, and the other great analysts of society. And it is precisely what is absent from most of the current work in American sociology.

> Nowadays men often feel that their private lives are a series of traps. They sense that within their everyday lives they cannot overcome their troubles . . . their visions and their powers are limited to the close-up scenes of job, family, neighborhood; in other milieux, they move vicariously and remain spectators. . . . Underlying this sense of being trapped are seemingly impersonal changes in the very structure of continent-wide societies. The facts of contemporary history are also facts about the success and failure of individual men and women. . . . Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both. Yet men do not usually define the troubles they endure in terms of historical change and institutional contradiction. . . . Ordinary men do not usually . . . possess the quality of mind essential to grasp the interplay of man and society. . . . They cannot cope with their personal troubles in such ways as to control the structural transformations that usually lie behind them. (*The Sociological Imagination, pp. 3-4.*)

Artists, novelists, preachers, journalists—indeed anyone, says Mills, can exercise the sociological imagination to reveal the links between individual experiences and historical processes, and thereby help people to understand and guide their social destinies.

More than half of Mills' book is a devastating criticism of two types of sociological effort: theoretical analysis and factual studies.

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The sociological theory which draws Mills' fire is the kind produced by Harvard's Professor Talcott Parsons and his disciples. During the last fifteen years Parsonian books and papers have multiplied, and Parsons-trained PhDs have come to flourish in most of the leading universities.

Parsons' theoretical system stems from English neo-classical economics and from such continental writers as Max Weber, Durkheim, Pareto, and Freud. Like orthodox economic theory, Parsons' "theory of action" is premised on stability, harmonious equilibrium of interests, and on universality. The model is presumed to be applicable to any social system.

From Parsons' work has grown the American cult of Max Weber. Now Weber, who wrote in Germany two generations ago, represented a bourgeois counteroffensive against Marx. He tried hard to prove that ethical ideas rather than material and economic factors are the dominant forces in social change. But Weber was never able firmly to establish his case. His propositions on the leading role of ideas in India, China, and modern Europe were always stated in the subjunctive mode—as possibilities rather than as proven truths. He was too competent a historian to go beyond his facts, despite his idealist predilections. Parsons, however, takes from Weber chiefly the idealistic elements. He does not have Weber's saving sense of historical movement. And Parsons' students are even further removed from reality.

Mills demolishes Parsonian "Grand Theory" with a characteristic Millsian grand salvo. Grand Theory is a "fetishism of concept." Its chief weakness is neither its cloudy verbiage nor its bad English, but its lack of contact with social life. How can a dynamic society be encompassed by an abstract, static, and non-historical theory? Mills concludes that Grand Theory is fifty percent verbiage, forty percent conventional textbook sociology, and ten percent conservative ideology.

Far more prominent than Grand Theory in number of practitioners, budget resources, and practical application is "Abstracted Empiricism"—Mills' term for the quantitative school of social science based on statistical analysis of questionnaires and interviews. Here are the public opinion, attitude, and advertising surveys sponsored by business and governmental agencies. Such studies are usually narrow in their focus but elaborately refined in their techniques. They are also expensive: naturally they gravitate into the orbit of well-

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heeled sponsors. Finally, they are very useful for sharpening up commercial, administrative, and financial policies.

Hence sociologists, and probably even more psychologists, have won subordinate but acknowledged places on the staffs of the great business and military bureaucracies during the last two decades. This has brought them good salaries and vicarious prestige. But it has also entailed, says Mills, the harnessing of social science to corporate ends and the reduction of social scientists to hired technicians. The new bureaucratic social science is characterized by teams of highly specialized personnel who, willy-nilly, are helping to bend other men and women to ends not their own. "Its use has been mainly in and for non-democratic areas of society—a military establishment, a corporation, an advertising agency, an administrative division of government." (p. 114.)

If social scientists are to serve the public interest responsibly, writes Mills, they must control their own means of research "in some collective way." (p. 106.) But he does not follow out the implications of this delayed-action blockbuster. Let us try to do so. First, it is scarcely conceivable that scientists could control, even indirectly, their own means of production except in a socialist society. Second, even though bureaucratic social science has great intrinsic limitations, as Mills makes exceedingly plain, this does not preclude its having socially useful roles within those limitations—provided that the bureaucracies it serves are democratically run for genuinely humanitarian purposes. There is the real rub. Science, both natural and social, is increasingly twisted in our latter-day capitalist society to anti-social ends, chiefly commercial and military. Does it not follow that scientists who would best serve their professional fields should join some progressive political movement to revise those anti-social policies and the institutions responsible for them?

If Mills' political follow-through is weak, his critique of Abstracted Empiricism is pulverizing. Grand Theory is trans-historical—a fetishism of concept; Abstracted Empiricism is subhistorical—a fetishism of method. Neither can deal with the basic problems of our time, because both are incapable—for different reasons—of grasping the structural and historical realities that govern our destinies.

Studies in the style of Abstracted Empiricism are confined to small milieux from which data are collected by sampling and interview techniques and then processed by a statistical ritual. The results, of course, are no better than the original data. Even carefully de-

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signed interviews usually cannot get at the larger historical factors, nor can they get very deep into an interviewee's personality. "The details, no matter how numerous, do not convince us of anything worth having convictions about." (p. 55.)

Studies of voting, for example, correlate political preference with the voter's occupation, religion, education, and so on. This is interesting. But it ignores most of the key American political institutions: party machines, class, and faction, the dynamics of which mold election campaigns. Similarly, studies of factory workers' cliques and attitudes turn up all sorts of details while overlooking the broad alignments and conflicts of power that frame our industrial system.

Mills' final broadside at Grand Theory and Abstracted Empiricism is squarely on target. "They may be understood as insuring that we do not learn too much about men and society—the first by formal and cloudy obscurantism, the second by formal and empty ingenuity." (p. 75.)

Is it not astounding to hear such things from an American college professor?

Is the American Experiment Failing?

Mills' book accurately characterizes many salient features of American sociology. It would have been a better book if it had discussed more fully those studies successfully applying the "sociological imagination"—for there are a few such works, even in the United States. The book would also have been better had it devoted a chapter to the ossification and promise of the Marxian tradition in social science. Such a critique is needed both by Marxists and by bourgeois academicians. Although obviously holding his nose at times, Mills regrettably continues the stifling academic convention of boycotting Marxian ideas officially, while using them to good advantage in practice. Indeed, it may be said of Mills, as of Veblen, that the superiority of his insight stems primarily from the influence of the Marxian tradition, creatively and critically applied by an independent mind.

Now let us interpret *The Sociological Imagination* against the larger canvas of American society today. Let us bring into play our own sociological imagination.

The world is moving unevenly and painfully out of one historical era and into another. The significance of this overwhelming process is not even remotely apparent to the American people. True, there is incessant propaganda on behalf of the cold war, free enterprise, and

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other vested interests of American ruling circles. But the prevailing American ideology does not accurately portray American reality. Nor does it convey a valid picture of what is going on elsewhere in the world. Worst of all, it has no competition—no significant faction has challenged the official ideology or offered a different one. Hence, the United States is, in effect, an isolated nation, like a victim of schizophrenia walled off from the real world by an impenetrable veil of delusions and fantasies.

This is just another way of saying that American society has a false consciousness—a severe misconception of its own nature and of it place in world history—which is to say, a misconception of world history as a whole.

Why?

Because American intellectuals and social scientists have failed to exercise the sociological imagination? Because they have *flunked* out on their responsibility to clarify to their fellow citizens the basic problems and trends of their own and other societies? That is the answer which Mills' book suggests to me.

Undeniably American intellectuals, especially the sociologists, have failed—wretchedly and colossally. There have been some honorable exceptions, but Mills' scathing indictment will stick to most of them:

> Intellectuals, artists, ministers, scholars, and scientists are fighting a cold war in which they echo and elaborate the confusions of officialdom. . . . They do not try to put responsible content into the politics of the United States; they help to empty politics and keep it empty. (p. 183.)

This abdication of the intellectuals, however, needs to be explained. For ideological elements are ordinarily subordinate parts of a society—more moved than moving. What Mills has documented in *The Sociological Imagination,* it seems to me, is really the failure of American society.

American progressives have optimistically assumed that a new leap forward is simply a matter of time. But it appears more likely that the United States lacks sufficient internal creativity to get itself out of the political and social ruts in which it is now mired. For social progress depends on oppositions, and in the States today there is no real internal opposition to official national and foreign policies. The decisive oppositions seem to lie, not within the United States, but between American and other societies, with the States representing the

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reactionary thesis. Decisive oppositions exist also within a number of societies abroad. Present indications suggest that the leadership of world civilization, held by Western nations during the last two or three centuries, is returning to the East—where indeed it has generally resided during most of history.

Why is there no significant opposition in the United States? Perhaps because capitalism has overdeveloped. There was no important precapitalist social order to be overcome—no anti-capitalist traditions surviving into the present—as has been the case in Europe. Great oppositions have emerged only twice in American history since independence. The first, the slave-owning agrarian capitalism of the South, was dissolved in civil war, a conflict between rival capitalisms. The second, the turn-of-the-century farm and labor movements and the beginnings of a mass socialist drift, has been stifled or bought off by the prosperity of two cheap world wars.

As Marx foresaw, capitalism does tend to generate its working-class rival, and this labor movement eventually tends to become socialistic in character. That has been the general course of events in most Western societies. But in the case of the United States these inherent tendencies of capitalism seem to have been offset (not removed) by unique historical and geographic conditions. If this is true, the outlook for American society is, at best, stagnation; otherwise, regression.

Prosperity sustained by wars, government spending, and Madison-Avenue fakeroo has been enough to preoccupy most Americans and to maintain their false consciousness. Instead of a realistic awareness of the world social revolution and a rational assessment of its possible meanings for the United States, the American public's departures from conformity have chiefly been vague anxieties and widespread apathy.

It is the task of the sociological imagination, says Mills, to reassert the principles of reality and reason in American public life. But this would be possible only if there were close ties between intellectuals exercising the sociological imagination and segments of American society most likely to be motivated to large-scale political action, i.e. the labor movement. Between the academic section of the intellectuals and the labor movement, no such tie exists, as Mills clearly shows.

> American social scientists have seldom, if ever, been politically engaged in any large way. . . . One often encounters journalists who are more politically alert and knowledgeable than

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> sociologists, economists, and especially, I am sorry to say, political scientists. The American university system seldom if ever provides political education. . . . Most social scientists have had little or no sustained contact with such sections of the community as have been insurgent; there is no left-wing press. . . . The academic community has few if any roots in labor circles. (p. 99.)

The social bankruptcy of the academic community does not rule out the development of intellectual leadership from other segments of the population, of course. At the moment, however, the prospect is not reassuring. Labor leaders as a group, for example, seem far more unimaginative and anti-intellectual than the right-wingers of Big Business.

If we cannot settle these issues here, we can surely agree that *The Sociological Imagination* is a most significant book. It is written with fiery conviction, full of striking phrases—"The history that now affects every man is world history." (p. 4.) If the work is smaller in scope than *White Collar,* it equals the latter in quality and insight. Unquestionably its author is now the leading American sociologist. Posterity may yet record that the mantle of Thorstein Veblen, America's greatest social scientist, fell upon Wright Mills.

If the paradox is true that the people don't believe in freedom for its own sake, yet possess a capacity to fight for it when it is translated into meaningful terms, the paradox is equally true that the educated or professional classes believe in freedom for its own sake, but rarely are prepared to fight for it at the risk of personal status.

If it is time to abandon the myth of the common man's idealism, it is also time that the intellectual in general, and the political scientist in particular, recognize that without the common man's active aid, liberty or equality cannot be preserved or expanded. The battle of freedom will be lost by default if the intellectual continues to insulate himself from "the masses" and to rely on countervailing forces, institutional barriers and the educated classes to defend him from demagogic leaders.

—*Peter Bachrach, The* Nation, *September* 19, 1959

The essence of a class system is that property, birth, and upbringing, rather than virtue or ability, determine status, power, and income.

—*Paul Johnson,* Conviction

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Ten Days That Shook Up America

During the last two weeks of September, the people of the United States were upset by a disturbing, bewildering, almost a frightening experience. A real, live Communist flew into the country in an up-to-date jet-prop plane so large that it startled observers. He bounced from coast to coast and back again, then took off for home in a whirlwind of publicity, discussion, and controversy.

Communists are barred by law from entering the United States. This one got past the restriction because he came as the official guest of the President of the United States.

The Communist guest, in a country officially and violently anti-Communist, arrived under a cloud of antipathy, antagonism, and hostility. Before his visit was three days old, he had catapulted into a babel of publicity that made him the most photographed, written-about, televised, and talked-of person in North America. Although neither a revolution nor a revelation, this event had all the appearances of mass conversion.

The Break-Through

Khrushchev had to cross a formidable barrier before he was within speaking distance of the American public or even the Washington government. He was a foreigner, with no command of the English language. He was chief spokesman for a government that has been labeled repeatedly as Public Enemy Number One. Worse, he was a Communist. Important elements in Washington, backed by the State Department, had opposed and fought summit talks of every description. These highly-placed elements were plotting, scheming, and working to have the visit end in a fiasco. They came within an ace of succeeding.

We called attention, in the October *World Events,* to the official attitude toward the Khrushchev visit, an attitude which was shared, apparently, by President Eisenhower. People along the Premier's line of travel were asked to be restrained to the point of indifference. Official plans called for a chilly reception.

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Private organizations, through write-ups, ads in the press, public meetings, prayers from pulpits, bumper-placards, and throw-aways, called the Prime Minister everything from a Communist to a murderer. Hostile letters bombarded public officials and editors. Thirteen years of indiscriminate, vitriolic, anti-Communist propaganda had thrown up bulwarks of public animosity, fear, and hate that put a Communist somewhere between a rat and a rattlesnake. Officially and unofficially, real concern developed lest the distinguished visitor should suffer physical harm during his stay in the United States.

Crowds in Washington where the Soviet Prime Minister made his first public appearance, and in New York where he went to address the United Nations, were large but undemonstrative. People did not cheer or wave. Neither did they boo or throw things.

Khrushchev sensed the hostility in Washington. In his Sport-Palace address to the Soviet people, the day he returned to Moscow, he described the experience:

> We were riding in a car with the President. There were huge crowds of people. Some raised their hand and waved but—I saw this—jerked the hand back quickly as if from a live wire. [Laughter]
>
> It was difficult for me to understand this at first. I decided to look more attentively at the faces of the people standing along both sides of our route. I began to greet people by slight nods and many of them replied. What was the matter then?
>
> I was told afterward that, ten minutes before we drove with the President to the White House, an unknown automobile had passed along our route with a poster saying, "Welcome the guest worthily, politely, but without applause or greetings." [Animation in the hall]
>
> Afterward I asked the President's representative, Mr. Lodge, . . . whether this was true. It was explained that there actually had been such a car but it was allegedly unknown to whom it belonged. [Laughter] You see, it had broken through the police cordon. (*New York Times,* September 29.)

Members of the New York Economics Club, where the Premier made his first public talk, were offensive to the point of rudeness. The Mayor of Los Angeles, in his official welcome, was abrupt and insulting. Ambassador Lodge, the President's official representative, who accompanied the Russian guest wherever he went, was coldly, grimly hostile. When he spoke, as he did at the New York Economics Club, it was to lecture the guest on the merits and achievements of capitalism.

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Los Angeles witnessed the climax of this aspect of the visit. Khrushchev described it in his Moscow report on September 28: "I finally had to speak my mind when at a reception in Los Angeles. The mayor of the city, who was no worse than the other mayors, but less diplomatic perhaps, started to say the same thing all over again. I said: 'Do you want to organize an unfriendly demonstration for me in every city, in every meeting? If you are going to receive me in this way, as the Russian saying goes, it is not hard to turn back from the gate.' [Applause]"

Khrushchev continued:

> I asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Gromyko, to go and tell the President's representative, Mr. Lodge, . . . that if things were not righted I would not find it possible to continue the trip and would have to return to Washington and then to Moscow.
>
> These negotiations through Comrade Gromyko took place at night, and when I awoke in the morning everything had indeed changed. . . . When we left Los Angeles for San Francisco I was, figuratively speaking, uncuffed, and permitted to leave the railroad coach and meet people. [Applause] People shook my hand and I replied to their shakes. They applauded and smiled just as you Muscovites smile when welcoming guests.

San Francisco crowds, cordial and appreciative, rallied to the support of the guest who had been officially denied elemental hospitality. The people of Pittsburgh, his last stop before his return to the capital, staged an enthusiastic and jubilant welcome to the Soviet Union's Number One Communist.

Through a week of fast-moving episodes, Khrushchev's avowed enemies exhausted their ammunition and were reduced to nail-biting silence. The Soviet Prime Minister occupied the center of the stage.

The Press Takes Notice

On basic issues such as the "American Way of Life" and anti-Communism, the press of the United States sides, submissively, with the government. Even on a noteworthy world event, not primarily political, such as the Vienna meeting in July-August 1959 of 17,000 young people from 116 countries, the United States press followed the State Department line of denunciation or silence, as recruits follow the directives of a drill sergeant.

Khrushchev's visit to the United States provided a significant

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test of press subserviency to government dictation. The official line on the Soviet Premier had been made unmistakably clear. There are many indications that the press planned to accept and follow the government line. Letters to editors, paid ads, and news hostile to Khrushchev were played up for weeks before his arrival. Editorial opinion was generally antagonistic. *Life* magazine's issue of September 28 featured the Trotsky assassination and bird migration on its front cover. Mention of the Soviet Premier was to be incidental. At the last moment, however, a piece of white paper, stapled outside of the prepared cover, read: "18 pages of Khrushchev in America." By the time this issue of *Life* went to press, newspapers across the continent were giving the Soviet Premier not columns but pages. The *New York Times* had Khrushchev in black headlines on the front page day after day. We chanced to see one issue of Philadelphia's morning paper, *The Inquirer,* in which the Khrushchev visit occupied the first nine pages. Not only had "K," "Nikita," and "Khrushchev" become news. He was *the* news.

Khrushchev Likes People

Khrushchev apparently likes people and generally gets on well with them. He came to the United States "with open heart and hand" to plead for peace. He came to make his plea first in Washington. If that failed, he hoped to go over the heads of the government to the people.

From the little nods to sympathetic by-standers during his first hours in Washington, he moved step by step to hand-shaking and embracing. He spoke to the San Francisco dockers as "comrades." They roared back their approval. One of them took off his cap and gave it to the Premier. Khrushchev put it on and gave his hat in return. A metal worker gave the Prime Minister a cigar and received Mr. Khrushchev's wrist watch in exchange. When a child got lost in the throng that pressed about him, Khrushchev rescued and comforted her. By the time he reached Pittsburgh he was being photographed with his arms over the shoulders of Pennsylvania's governor and Pittsburgh's mayor. At the Embassy reception in Washington, the Premier hugged Van Cliburn and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

The Soviet guest even fraternized with his official grim-faced mentor, Ambassador Lodge. Early in the trip the Premier publicly sympathized with the Ambassador for his sufferings during the trip. A few days later, at Coon Rapids, Iowa, where the party was eating

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hot dogs, Khrushchev teased Lodge with "Well, capitalist, have you satisfied your hunger?"

Through the ten arduous, hectic, and boisterous days of the cross-country trip, the Premier continually fraternized with the members of his entourage. Mrs. Khrushchev spent her time with her husband and constantly deferred to him. At the outset she was rated as a dowdy nobody. Later she was loved and dubbed "anybody's grandmother." When she left the country, one correspondent wrote that anyone who had the good sense to pick out Mrs. K, live with her for a quarter of a century, and bring her along to the United States, must be a good fellow.

Act by act, day by day, the Khrushchev family won the respect and admiration of millions of Americans.

What Khrushchev Came to Say

Khrushchev came with a message to the people and government of the United States. He did not present his message to the Americans in any nationalistic sense. Again and again he stressed its general character. It was a message to men, women, and children everywhere.

He gave notice of his intentions at a Moscow press conference on August 5. "We shall go to America with an open heart and in all sincerity, with good intentions, being guided by concern for safeguarding peace throughout the world."

During his entire visit, day after day, the Soviet Premier put "peace" on the front page. He kept repeating "peace" on every possible occasion until he had made a near-treasonable word almost respectable.

His speech before the United Nations was built around a project for peace, friendship, and coexistence that envisaged the abolition of war and all war machinery. He proposed that the process of complete disarmament should begin at once and should be completed within four years. It should include demobilization of military personnel, the conversion of war production to peace production, the elimination of institutions which train human beings in the science and art of mass destruction and wholesale murder, and the outlawing of propaganda looking toward war in any of its forms.

"Old stuff!" snapped the critics of Khrushchev and his message. "Litvinov [representing the Moscow government] made the same proposals to the League of Nations thirty-two years ago. It is sterile idealism and does not make sense."

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True enough, the Khrushchev program is idealistic. Yes, it has been proposed previously, by Buddha, by Moses, by Isaiah, by Jesus, by William Penn, by Tolstoy, by Einstein, by Gandhi. But does war make sense? Did the War of 1914-1918, fought with machine guns, make sense? Did the War of 1939-1945, fought with block-busters, make sense? Will another war fought with nuclear bombs, one of which has more explosive power than all of the explosives used during 1939-1945, make sense?

One thing is sure. Khrushchev's critics who favor "regulated armaments" cannot qualify for the Nobel Peace Prize. But if the prize is given to the person who made more people talk and think about peace during the year 1959 than any other human being, Khrushchev will get it by acclamation.

Space Travel Advances

October 1957 witnessed the launching, by Soviet scientists and technicians, of the first earth satellite. Two years later, on September 14, 1959, a Soviet instrument-carrying sphere, weighing 858 pounds, reached the moon. The journey, covering 236,875 miles, was made in about 35 hours. Soviet scientists had computed the time of landing. They erred by only 84 seconds.

Within the next ten years experts in space travel expect that earth men will have orbited a station for space vehicles. They will be preparing or sending exploring expeditions to Mars and Venus.

Space travel confronts mankind with a dilemma. Shall we explore, conquer, and develop space competitively along the 1492-1815 earth pattern, or shall we use our broadened opportunities to contact beings of goodwill and aid them to advance to the good life universal?

Chains of auditors, gaggles of politicians, and circuses of busy-bodies are scrutinizing the expenditure of the public services. But who investigates what private industry spends on advertising, on quality control, and public relations?
—*Brian Abel-Smith,* Conviction

There is a distinct working-class way of life, which I for one value. . . . I think this way of life, with its emphases of neighborhood, mutual obligation, and common betterment, as expressed in the great working-class political and industrial institutions, is in fact the best basis for any future English society.
—*Raymond Williams,* Conviction

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Leo Huberman, co-editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1959. James Hanratty, Notary Public, State of New York. No. 30-1666450. Nassau County. Term Expires March 30, 1961.

Today's generation of intellectuals, by and large, is an apathetic, resigned and fearful one. Despite the beatniks, its basic theme is that "What is, is right." It is afraid to challenge the established order of things. The professional ex, with his own rationale for accepting the status quo, reinforces this conformity. He is, in effect, the older generation telling the newer one: "I was a rebel in my youth, but I learned my lesson; don't you fall into the same trap."

In our day and age this rationale is a marketable commodity.

—*Sidney Lens, "Decade of the Ex-Reds," The* Nation, *September* 5, 1959

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(*continued from inside front cover*)

long been out of print. To meet the continuing demand (mostly from libraries) for the book we have from time to time bought copies in the second-hand market. That source of supply now seems to be practically exhausted, so we turn to you. If you have a copy which you no longer wish to keep, please send it to us and we will give you in return your choice of any book on the MR Press list. Meanwhile, we are eagerly awaiting the ms. of O'Connor's follow-up volume to which he has given the title *The Decline and Fall of the Empire of Oil.*

It is still possible for you to buy copies of MR Press's forthcoming titles *The Alienation of Modern Man* by Fritz Pappenheim, and *Crossing the Line* by Claud Cockburn, at prepublication prices—a considerable saving over the list prices which go into effect on January 1. We urge you to take advantage of these and other book bargains described on pages 248-249.

Several months ago in Munich, Germany, J. D. Bernal, author of MR Press book *World Without War,* was awarded a citation by the Grotius Society of International Law for his contributions to that subject. Bernal received a silver medal from the Society, and Albert Schweitzer a gold medal. Since you won't have seen any reviews of Bernal's book in the commercial press, we print below a statement we have just received from the eminent scientist Sir Robert Watson-Watt, whose outstanding work in the development of radar during World War II has won him the reputation of "inventor of radar":

> Desmond Bernal had already made important contributions to the vital but still under-documented subject of the social relations of science and technology. In this new book he achieves a veritable *tour de force.*
>
> His erudition is formidably deep and wide. His constructive imagination is sweeping but securely founded quantitatively. His social conscience is revealed as acutely sensitive. His genius for taking pains is awe-inspiring.
>
> He is more lenient, less acutely analytical, in his view of the theory and practice of the Soviet Union and its associates than when he surveys the Western World. This may well be a direct consequence of the sensitivity of his social conscience, but it is a grave defect none the less. It is the only major blemish on a masterly and encouraging scrutiny of the well-ordered world which can be attained well within our presently known means, and a convincingly reasoned promise of greatly expanded means.

On page 270 we print an invitation to join MR Associates directed primarily to those readers who buy the magazine on the newsstands and hence do not receive the annual Appeal. We confess our hope that it will also serve to remind and stimulate those subscribers who have not yet joined, to do so.

The first of the season's Associates meetings in New York will be held on Tuesday evening, December 1st. It will be, we feel sure, a real treat. Distinguished guest speaker will be Clive Jenkins, a London Borough Councillor, official of a white collar union, frequent contributor to *Tribune,* and author of Labor Party pamphlets on a variety of subjects. His subject is "The Labor Movement in Britain," and he will be glad to answer questions on the recent elections, socialized medicine, the Labor Party's prospects—in short on any and all topics of interest to his audience. Clive Jenkins will share the platform with Bert Cochran, co-editor of *The American Socialist* and editor of the recent MR Press book *American Labor in Midpassage,* who will speak on "The Labor Movement in the United States." The meeting will be held in the Heywood Broun Room of the American Newspaper Guild building in the Times Square area—a beautiful hall but not very large, so better send for tickets right away.

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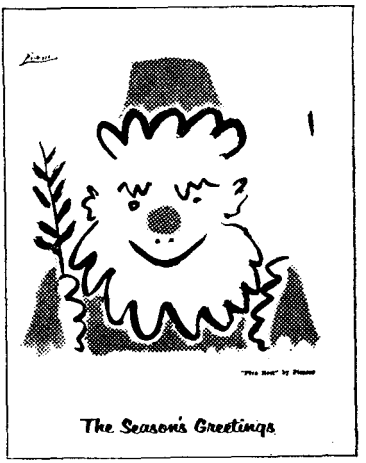

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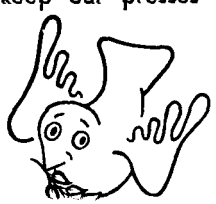
THE Holiday Gift offerings on this page share an extra quality beyond their individual attributes of (1) seasonal charm (as in our exclusive Christmas card, Picasso's Pere Noel, right); (2) wistful humor (our home-nurtured Peace Dove pins, left); and (3) excellence at economy prices (e.g. our East German typewriters, below). The extra quality, which we hope you will consider a special recommendation, is that these offerings—and many more too numerous to display here—are among the necessary extra-curricular ways and means employed by National Guardian, the progressive newsweekly, to keep our presses turning week after week as they have for the past eleven years. If you know the Guardian, you know us as an independent publication devoted to peace, world understanding and expanding human rights. If you don't know us, we could quickly get acquainted via our mutual interest in meaningful holiday giving.



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In addition to peace, rights, and the full dinner pail, the Guardian's stock in trade for Holiday time includes something for all the ages of man, woman and child—books, toys, imported table linens and cutlery; LP records from folksay to Hi-Fi; imported caps & scarves for the lasses; the fanciest Madison Ave. ties for the men in your life (at off-Madison Ave. prices). And many other offerings, all at the lowest bargain prices we can figure out, and all postpaid even to the 49th and 50th states, Puerto Rico, Canada or the Dry Tortugas. Write for our catalogue or, better still, take a $1 trial sub and make your selections directly from the interesting and exciting pages of

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